

A

SHORT VINDICATION
OF THE
FRENCH TREATY,
FROM THE
CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST IT
IN A LATE PAMPHLET, ENTITLED,
*A VIEW OF THE TREATY OF COMMERCE
WITH FRANCE,*

Signed at Versailles, SEPT. 28, 1786, by Mr. EDEN.

Great Britain George III

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE,
OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

M D C C L X X V I I .

Price One Shilling and Sixpence.

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SHORT VINDICATION

THE FRENCH TREATY,

CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST IT

IN A LATE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE,

A VIEW OF THE TREATY OF COMMERCE

WITH FRANCE,

BY JAMES H. HARRISON, ESQ., &c.



LONDON:

PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

OF THE BARRISTERS' HALL, AND

W. BARNARD, ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

1801.

SHORT VINDICATION
OF THE
FRENCH TREATY.

IT is justly observed by the Author of the Pamphlet I am now considering, that * “ In the whole realm there is not
“ one person of any age or sex whom
“ this Treaty does not deeply concern
“ and should not sensibly interest.”
And it is not only open and free for them to discuss, but from the nature and degree of their interest in it, calls upon them to consider, and to decide

upon its merits. Impressed with this idea, and of its being at the same time
 “ * a subject which fell not within the
 “ sphere of ordinary acquirements,” the
 Author of the View of the French Treaty
 seems to have written. He saw how
 necessary it was on a subject so little
 understood, that the Public, in order to
 form a right judgement, should receive
 every possible light and information ;
 and possessed with just notions of the
 high and serious character of a *public*
guide, he thus addresses his readers: † “ If
 in any instance in the course of the
 “ investigation, sinister views or par-
 “ ty objects are found to predominate
 “ in preference to national interest,
 “ and

* Introd. † Introd.

“ and the public good---If any fact or
 “ argument that makes against his sys-
 “ tem be willingly suppressed or evad-
 “ ed, or any that favour it, be exagge-
 “ rated, or stretched beyond their due
 “ bearing, the writer forfeits, if convict-
 “ ed of these faults, all credit with his
 “ readers for the merit of every other
 “ part of the publication.” No pro-
 fession can be more fair or more can-
 did than this. Let us however exa-
 mine the work itself ; in the progress
 of which, I shall for the sake of perspi-
 cuity, observe as much method as the
 nature of the subject will admit ; and
 dwelling on the discussion of those prin-
 cipal points only, which more directly
 lead to the discussion of the main ques-
 tion,

tion, "*Whether the tendency of the Treaty of Commerce with France be good or evil?*" preserve all possible brevity.

The following are the principal positions which the arguments in the pamphlet are brought to maintain, and upon which the Author of it rests his conclusive opinion, that the Treaty of Commerce with France, "must, if established by an act of the Legislature, infallibly work the destruction of this empire."

That an advantageous trading intercourse with France is impracticable.

That excellence in manufactures not being necessarily permanent in any country,

try, the opening this intercourse with France will promote the quick transi-
tion of ours.

That there is danger, by the operation of this Treaty, not only to the manufactures in which we do not excel, but to those in which our superiority is acknowledged.

That it is injurious in the extreme, to the interest of England, to admit the staple commodities of France upon the terms of the Treaty.

That the Treaty renders ineffectual all the provision of the Hovering and other Acts, and thereby delivers the revenue

venue and fair trade of this country to the mercy of the smugglers.

That the intercourse with France will in its consequences decrease our navigation,

And lastly, In his general observations on the whole, condemns the principles of the Treaty as unwise and impolitic, and its tendency as destructive to the interests of the empire.

THE assertion, "That an advantageous trading intercourse with France is impracticable," our Author rests upon the ground of the failure of two similar experi-

experiments made towards the end of the last century. It would be a sufficient refutation, if I proved the fallacy of this argument, by shewing that the different situation of this country at present with an export of fifteen millions—and That in the last century with an export only of two millions, cannot be brought as cases so similar in all their leading circumstances, as to afford precedents strong enough in point to authorize such an assertion: But it will suit my purpose of brevity better, and equally satisfy my readers, to demonstrate that the general trade and navigation of England from 1663 to 1688, comprehending a period of twenty-five years, during which time the intercourse with France was open, (except

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the last seven years of Charles the Second) had increased, and not diminished. To this end I shall briefly state, that the average amount of goods exported from England to all the world, more than was necessary for her own consumption, for the years 1663 and 1669, was *2,043,046l.; for the transportation of which 95,266 tons of British and 47,634 tons of foreign ships were then employed. The amount of exports in 1688 was 4,086,087l.; and of English vessels 190,533 tons. Of foreign 95,257 tons. From whence it is evident, that the general trade and navigation of this country actually doubled between the years

* See page 207 in the "Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the four preceding Reigns; and of the Losses of her Trade from every War since the Revolution. New modelled and continued to 1785. By GEORGE CHALMERS."

years 1663 and 1688. Indeed all the writers of any eminence upon the state and progress of the commerce of this kingdom concur in opinion, that the period between the Restoration and Revolution was remarkably favourable to the trade and manufactures of England. It is true, however, that the balance of the French trade at that time was against us to the amount of a million; but it is also true, that Sir George Downing, in his Report to the House of Commons on this subject, in the twenty-seventh year of Charles the Second, states, * “ That the linen and silk manufactures
 “ imported from France amount to upwards of 800,000*l*.” which clearly proves the demand for the consumption

tion of those manufactures, arising from their infant state at that time in England, constituted four-fifths of the balance; to which, if the 100,000 more for paper, which was in the same predicament, be added, the reader will be able to judge how far in the present state of those articles with us, any argument can be drawn from an unfavourable balance in 1675, against a trading intercourse with France in 1787.

The Author of the pamphlet next proceeds to shew, by the history of our woollens, the danger under this Treaty, of the transition of that manufacture with others to France.

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In considering this subject, he has allowed himself to be more diffuse than on any other: I shall therefore collect as well as I can his various opinions, and comparing them together, submit to the judgement of the reader, how far they go to prove his position, or at all apply to the present Treaty.

Our Author states, page 10, "That the
 " Levant, the Italian, the Mediterra-
 " nean markets were furnished with our
 " woollens; we supplied Spain, we sup-
 " plied even France." In page 50, " In
 " Turkey, Portugal, Holland, Germany,
 " the Streights, in our favourite mar-
 " kets, and in our favoured manufactures,
 " France has supplanted and surpassed
 " us; and it appears that our exports
 " to

“ to those countries have diminished an-
 “ nually, upon an average of twenty years
 “ preceding 1760, above three millions.”

Now let us see what our Author says
 further upon this point—Page 51, “How

“ comes the manufactures to have sur-
 “ vived the loss of such markets?” He

himself answers it “ to the satisfaction

“ of the most incredulous : ” --- “ Our ex-

“ ports during the last thirty years to

“ Ireland, to the East-Indies, to the

“ West-Indies, to America, to Africa,

“ have increased more than double, in

“ some more than treble.” He does not

stop here, but immediately adds, “ This

“ extraordinary increase has preserved,

“ nay, has *advanced* the woollen manu-

“ facture.” So that my readers, when

they

they consider, that besides this increase of our export, which has alone been sufficient to *advance* the woollen manufacture, "the home market also, has
 "more than all contributed to its sal-
 "vation," they will not entertain a painful idea of the state of the woollen manufacture. And indeed it appears, by an account furnished by the manufacturers in 1785, to the Committee of Privy-Council, that the annual exports of the woollens of Yorkshire alone, amounted to 2,371,942l. which is more than was exported from the whole kingdom, even at the Revolution.—Speaking afterwards of the importance of the home trade, p. 52, he states it to be "the opinion of the most
 "intelligent persons, that it is ten times
 "more

“ more valuable, taking it generally, than
 “ all the foreign trade put together;” and
 immediately afterwards declares, that
 “ this augmentation of our home trade,
 “ more than redeems and repays all our
 “ losses by foreign countries.” What
 then is the result of our Author’s obser-
 vations?—These acknowledged truths;
 ---That we have changed the course of
 our commerce, not because the French
 trade was prohibited, but because it is
 the nature of traffick to seek out and
 pursue those channels which bring
 home the greatest profits---That we
 have gained by our increased commerce
 to Ireland, the East and West Indies,
 Africa, and America, infinitely more
 than we have lost by its decrease
 with

with Portugal, Holland, Turkey, and the Streights;—and that our manufactures are in so flourishing a state, as to supply the home market to the amount of six times more than all our exports which are stated at fifteen millions. These indeed are glorious truths, and unquestionably prove the high state of prosperity to which the trade and manufactures of Great Britain are arrived. But how does this imply a destructive tendency in the Treaty, which opens a new channel of commerce, and offers a fresh market for our commodities?—There is indeed one specious argument, and the only one I can discern on the subject of woollens; and that is drawn from the precarious state of the trade in

Spanish Wool: But pending the negotiation of the Treaty of Commerce with Spain, wherein undoubtedly this important point will be properly adjusted, the discussion of it now would be useless.

I therefore hasten to consider the singularity of our Author's Introduction to a body of evidence, which he lays down as unquestionable authority to impel the public conviction, that all the manufactures of Great Britain, as well those in which we excel, as those in which we do not, are in a state of the most imminent danger from this Treaty. It is thus; p. 13--
 " So many interests are involved in the
 " treaty negotiated by Mr. Eden, that
 " its merits never can fairly be decided
 " by

“ by the judgments of any particular
 “ set of manufacturers; and the great-
 “ est caution, if not the utmost suspi-
 “ cion, is obviously necessary in guarding
 “ against the opinions of any men who
 “ are likely to be interested in its estab-
 “ lishment.” Again, in the next page---
 “ And manufacturers as well as mer-
 “ chants having sometimes aggrandized
 “ themselves and families by a Com-
 “ merce, which at the same time im-
 “ poverished and destroyed their coun-
 “ try.”---“ Against this, the most
 “ catching influence to which the hu-
 “ man mind is liable, we must be upon
 “ our guard, as we know that the pub-
 “ lic welfare is seldom in the eye of
 “ business preferred to private emolu-
 C 2 “ ment;”

“ ment:” And he adds,---“ Too much
 “ doubt and diffidence cannot exist upon
 “ such a subject.” Again,---page 16---
 “ Great, however, as their (the body of
 “ British manufacturers) worth is, and
 “ consummate as may be their ingenuity
 “ and skill, the hazard is evident, of be-
 “ ing governed in a business of this sort
 “ by the opinions of those among them,
 “ who have at present a certain and fig-
 “ nal superiority in any flourishing
 “ manufacture that is popular in
 “ France,---Indeed in an exact propor-
 “ tion to the magnitude and extension
 “ of their probable benefits by it, would
 “ be their difficulty and disability from
 “ giving a free, unbiaſſed judgment
 “ upon its general merits.”

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The conclusion from all which is clearly this:---That the Author produces as the most indisputable authority, and from which is derived all the force of his argument, a series of evidence given by men confessedly interested, and whom every one, as he asserts, ought therefore to credit with caution ; nay that their opinions should necessarily be suspected, when given upon a question which in its decision will most materially affect them.

Notwithstanding the Writer is evidently aware of the weakness of this ground, and seems conscious that the merchants and manufacturers will feel the severity of these general reflections, he
does

does not care to quit it; but explains himself thus: (p. 16.) “ We excel all
 “ the world in pottery, for instance.
 “ Mr. Wedgwood is a gentleman of
 “ extraordinary abilities as a manufac-
 “ turer, and acknowledged probity as a
 “ man;”---but “ would even Mr. Wedg-
 “ wood be exactly the best of all possi-
 “ ble authorities upon the merits of a
 “ Treaty, the immediate advantages of
 “ which to himself are clear, certain,
 “ and undoubted?”——“ and, that as the
 “ direct sale of his branch may be in-
 “ creased by this Treaty, *he* is less quali-
 “ fied than any other even of these
 “ dealers from giving an uninfluenced
 “ opinion upon this subject.” Yet these
 observations are made “ independently
 “ of

“ of his general character and unquestionable integrity as a man.” Now the attempt to propogate a notion, that to constitute a person’s good character as a man, one sort of veracity and integrity is required, but that his character as a merchant or manufacturer demands only an inferior species of truth and honesty, is at least novel; and affords another specimen of those inconsistencies, which so frequently occur in the work under consideration. It is not necessary to urge more on this subject; though it would not be difficult to shew, that admitting the weight of the opinion of the manufacturers in its fullest extent in respect to Ireland, it is not in any degree applicable to France; nor
ever

ever can be, until the advantages of constitution, laws, language, and relation to England are equally possessed by France as by Ireland: And indeed our Author seems to entertain some apprehensions that this opinion will be supported by the judgements of the manufacturers themselves; and therefore to remove any impression which they may make, he does not hesitate to declare, that more credit is to be given to those who may apprehend injury, than to those who hope for benefit: Upon what ground of candour or of justice this declaration is made, let the reader decide; for it is certainly as fair to presume that the hope of private benefit would be an equal inducement

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to exaggerate the general advantages of a public measure, as the apprehensions of particular injury would be to magnify its disadvantages.

Another kingē upon which the Author's position turns, is the difference in the price of labour in France and in England. Although this difference were still greater than it is, yet has the Treaty nothing to do with it. It is true, the low price of labour is an advantage in manufacture, but then it affords no temptation to artisans to emigrate: And as the price of labour is always regulated by the degree of demand for it, if the demand increases, which must happen upon the establishment of new, or

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the extension of old manufactures, the price of labour rises, and the expected advantage is lost.

I will observe once for all, however, upon the variety of arguments which with so much ingenuity have been urged, to prove the price of labour and even the price of the material, are always decisive to the establishment and superiority of manufactures, that nothing has less foundation in fact, experience, or reason. Credit—Capital—a quick Circulation—Knowledge—These form the soul, the vital principle of manufactures. All other circumstances, however beneficial they may be when put in motion, and invigorated by these, are without them,

them, inanimate and useless. Cheapness of labour, and of the material, are advantages which most other countries have possessed in a greater degree than England: But where have Credit, Capital, and Knowledge resided? There, and there only, where liberty, a mild and free government, a just and equal execution of law, that great ground of confidence and security of property, has bred, nourished, and supported them. When these advantages of a country, these heaven-descended blessings, shall cease to create national character, to produce wealth and animate science; when monarchy shall sacrifice its arbitrary principles to the happiness of its subjects, and the persons and properties

of the people depend no longer upon the will of the monarch; then, and then only need Old England fear a direption of her manufactures by the arts or seductions of France,

After what has been said with respect to the influence of the price of labour on manufactures, and the observations I found myself obliged to make upon the stress, which our Author is of opinion, ought to be laid upon the judgement of manufacturers, I have little occasion to enter upon the cases of the particular articles of manufacture he mentions. Upon glass, indeed, he has been imperfectly informed: There can be no impossibility in ascertaining
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a countervailing duty upon the importation of that commodity from France.

On the articles of our India muslins and callicoes, which with so much confidence is asserted, will go to the French market free of duty, and consequently meet our fabrics with an advantage of of twelve per cent. I have only to observe, the Author is not accurately informed on this subject. All India muslins, and some sorts of callicoes, will carry with them a duty of eight per cent. other callicoes not so much. But the Treaty, it is clear, does not interfere with the import or export of foreign commodities. The French, however, may justly lament the situation in
this

this respect, to which that Author proposes to reduce them ; who objects not only to their being supplied with these articles at our sales, but by our factories in Bengal, and even by the neighbouring East India Companies in Europe.

The propriety of admitting under reduced duties---the staple commodities of France into this country, is certainly an important question fairly arising out of the Treaty. To the argument, however, deduced by our Author from the comparison of the probable consumption of Portugal and French wines, against the policy of lowering the duty of those of France, the answer seems short ; that it is altogether immaterial
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to the public interest who is paid for the wines; there can be no difference in this respect between that and any other article which we import from foreign countries, to answer the demand of our consumption. The preference the public has to give is on the score of cheapness only. This cheapness however, is not always constituted by the nominal price of an article; because the seller may give accommodations not immediately belonging to the subject of sale, which in the benefits to be derived therefrom to the purchaser, may be fairly considered as equivalent to an abatement of price. If this should eventually be the case with Portugal, and she should be inclined to give such

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a decided preference to our manufactures, as to erect for them not only an extensive, but advantageous sale, her wines must fairly be considered as cheaper to us, by so much as the advantage she gave to our manufactures might be estimated at. But on the other hand it is objected, that by this great reduction of duty, there is danger of wine becoming more generally used, and thereby lessening the consumption of our national liquors. I answer, that the present quantity of liquors drank in Great Britain under the name of wine, is well known to be greater, to a degree scarcely credible, than the amount entered at the Custom House will warrant. The surplus therefore must be either smuggled,

gled, or brewed from other materials, or both. Now, to meet these two evils, the most natural, as well as effectual remedy, is a reduction of the duties to such a point, as will at once destroy the profits of the smuggler and fraudulent brewer, without giving any temptation, by the lowness of price, to increase the consumption; by which means, the morals and honest industry of thousands will be improved, the revenue benefited, and the healths of his Majesty's subjects preserved.

The Writer of the pamphlet has taken up his opposition to the import of French brandies upon reduced duties, principally upon the ground of the effect it

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would

would necessarily have upon the article of rum. The whole of what he presses upon this point, is reducible to this; That a Committee of the West India Merchants and Planters, deputed by the general body to carry their sentiments to the Minister, declared, that on the footing brandy was put by the Treaty, they should be content with a reduction of five pence per gallon upon rum; and upon a proposition being made of lowering still more the duties upon brandy, asserted, that the difference of one-third less duty on rum, would in all cases protect them against the brandies of France. The Author, who does not state himself to have the least personal concern in the question, takes

takes upon him to controvert, in positive terms, what those alone, whose interest and business it was to be masters of it, assert. As the point in dispute, however, is not directly relevant to the Treaty of Commerce, I shall leave it to be settled by the parties between whom it is at issue; and only observe, that there appears no ground to believe the consumption of rum would be increased to any considerable amount, if the reduction of duties was made to our Author's approbation; as the Islands produce but a certain quantity, which at present equals the demand. I shall take my leave of this article without further notice of the illiberal language, which the Author's causeless warmth on this

subject has disgraced his pen, than to lament the depravity of the human mind when once abandoned to the blind rage of party spirit.

I am come now to investigate the great question, how far the Treaty will operate to increase smuggling. The Author of the pamphlet taking advantage of the popular cry, which the superficial reading of the Treaty upon this subject has occasioned, has with great art and address placed it in every light which can alarm and terrify the fair trader, and the well wisher of his country : for I hold it impossible that his acute understanding could have mistaken an axiom of the revenue upon
which

which the arrangements of the Treaty are so obviously founded, *that prohibitions and exorbitant duties are the sole causes of smuggling.* That a system of commercial regulation, prohibiting absolutely, or by the means of extravagant duties, the admission of commodities which are either of general consumption, or material in the course of trade, should have continued so long against the conviction of universal experience in this enlightened age, is in truth matter of more wonder, than that its absurdity should be discovered and reformed.-- What penalties, let me ask, what punishments can ingenuity contrive or severity inflict, sufficient to deter or prevent mankind from pursuing gain where the profit

profit overbalances the hazard? Human wisdom seems to have been exhausted in inventing laws for the prevention of smuggling in this country. The public have spared no expence to maintain and reward officers without number, and have given them the aid of forces by sea and land. Every nerve has been strained, and the exertions of Government carried to the highest pitch; yet is smuggling carried on with so high a hand, that above *three million* gallons of reign spirits, upon the best calculation, have been smuggled into Great Britain within the year, although the legal importation fell short of *one million*.--- The present duties upon brandy amount to above seven hundred per cent. upon
the

the first cost of that article. Is it possible for the wit and vigilance of man to increase the hazard of a contraband trade, sufficiently to overbalance the immoderate profits to be obtained by the smuggler under such circumstances?--- I do not scruple to affirm, there is no effectual remedy to be found but in the reduction of duties. If to the authority of experience in this respect, there needed further argument to confirm a truth so evident, let it be drawn from the vast volumes of preventive laws, the fleets and armies (I may call them) of revenue officers, the present state of smuggling, and the astonishing success of the late experiment on tea. These occupy ground of proof
that

that no language can evade, no sophistry can shake. True, says that Author, but how will the revenue bear this system? I answer---Well. Whatever contributes to the increase of fair trade, proportionally benefits the revenue. Of the article we are now considering, which naturally includes all foreign spirits, the consumption of this kingdom is estimated at about *four millions* of gallons, of which the legal importation does not supply quite one-fourth part. Taking therefore the consumption to remain as it is, and that by lowering the duty to seven shillings per gallon smuggling would be suppressed, the addition to the revenue would be about nine hundred and sixty thousand pounds

pounds per annum. But if it should be thought necessary to reduce the duty to five shillings and sixpence per gallon, the revenue would receive in addition about six hundred and sixty thousand pounds per annum. Now, this is not the baseless fabric of a sanguine imagination, but is a consequence as inevitable as it is important: I beg therefore to detain the reader's attention particularly to what I shall briefly offer on this head, as it goes equally to destroy the ground of the popular apprehensions of injury from this measure to the consumption of our native manufactures, malt, beer, cyder, spirits, and rum, as to the establishment of the point of revenue. The consumption

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of drinkable spirits in Great Britain demands a certain given quantity, over and above what rum or British spirits can supply; and I assume, the quantum of the demand cannot be affected by the measure of lowering the duties in consequence of the Treaty, because, if the reduction of the duty goes down no farther than to deprive the smuggler of the greater part of his profits, and to enable the fair trader to supply the consumer upon nearly as good terms as the smuggler, there is no reason to suppose the consumption will be less; neither is there a shadow of ground to apprehend that it will be greater, because the consumer not getting his spirits of the legal importer at quite

quite so low a rate as he now does of the smuggler, there will arise no temptation to increase his consumption by the cheapness of the article. If therefore the quantities of foreign spirits consumed, is not necessarily affected by this measure, the principle of the Treaty in this respect working such immense benefit to the revenue, without danger of injury to the manufactures of the country, is worthy the great and wise Minister who adopted it.

With regard to the other part of the question, namely, the admitting, upon reasonable duties, divers goods of French manufacture which are now prohibited; I shall content myself with noticing the

strongest instance our Author puts, as involving in the same predicament the lesser articles—The article of kid-gloves—He states, that French kid-gloves are superior in quality and lower in price than ours; that “we have scarcely any raw material for this manufacture; that the smuggling of these gloves from France is prodigious; that they are without any scruple publicly sold every hour of the day in this country; and that notwithstanding all this, the laws are seldom efficacious, form no safeguard, and constitute no shield for our manufactures.” Can the ingenuity of man produce more unanswerable, more convincing arguments for the expediency of *admitting* this article to be fairly imported upon a reasonable duty?

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The pamphlet next treats of the effects of the Treaty upon our navigation. I need not take up my reader's time, to convince him that a Treaty of Commerce, which opens a new channel for imports and exports, does by that means lessen the employment for navigation.

To enter upon a discussion of the probable operation of the Treaty upon Ireland, is certainly premature. I shall therefore pass by that subject, taking occasion only to express my hope, that the day is not far distant when the same enlarged and enlightened spirit of policy which pervades the great measure before us, shall remove the clouds of prejudice
and

and jealousy, that have so long hid from the eyes of both nations, the true way to mutual greatness and prosperity.

It is impossible, I think, for any one, whose benevolence towards mankind in general, whose love to his own country, and generous feelings towards another, are not entirely laid prostrate by the relentless hand of party; to read, without horror and indignation, in the concluding part of his pamphlet what our Author is not ashamed to avow, as a great and leading principle of his opposition to the Treaty of Commerce with France. What! are we for ever to continue deluging the four quarters of the globe with our blood? Is there

to

to be no check, no period to the accumulation of distress and calamity to this exhausted country? Reduced as both nations are by reiterated wars of jealousy and animosity, are we to cherish and perpetuate irreconcilable hatred towards each other? Let me ask the the Author of the pamphlet, why it is a duty incumbent on every sensible Englishman to persecute the French nation in every quarter of the globe? Why must he consider every evil to France as a benefit to Great Britain? I challenge him to establish his position, that to persecute and seek the destruction of the other is true wisdom in either country. There is but one maxim of

of the same nature which is found

found policy common to both, the perpetuating peace, by the constant exercise of reciprocal good-will. The sword indeed may extend dominion, but it depopulates and impoverishes, leaving its progress to be marked only by the groans of the oppressed and miserable. An enlarged system of universal commerce, is a system of universal peace, civilizing the barbarous, reconciling enemies, diffusing the divine spirit of benevolence and good-will, wherever its liberal spirit pervades. Glorious, therefore is it for the Ministers, and happy for the people of both countries, that they have had the wisdom to discover the absurd meanness of that policy which encouraged national hatred, and the magnanimity

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to stem the torrent of popular prejudice---to exchange, by one great measure, hostility for amity, and divide with a friendly hand, the conveniencies of commerce: These are principles of policy great and sublime, fitting wise, powerful, and virtuous nations to adopt; such as will stand the shock of ages, and are far, very far beyond the reach of the open malevolence of party spirit, or the insidious arts of sophistry.

F I N I S.



